

# EDITORIALS

"But if you look good," said the shoemaker, "if you remember good, you'll never remember that they tell us 'bout Marcus Garvey."

IN THE CASTLE OF MY SKIN..George Lamming-

The shoemaker is right. They never told us about Marcus Garvey. That would have been too dangerous. They spoke instead of Martin Luther - King's civil rights, his turn the other cheek <sup>philosophy</sup>, and a statement he made about feeling like a human-being when he visited Jamaica. - Nothing was said about the racist society which shot him to his death. That was justifiable to them for <sup>at</sup> racist society had guests attending the ceremony.

We must not forget two acts. In December of 1968 the Government of Jamaica made a posthumous award - The Marcus Garvey Prize for Human Rights - to Mrs King on behalf of her late husband.

The second act is the unreported refusal of the Garvey family to attend this ceremony at the - National Arena.

The first act was a farce in which Marcus Garvey's wife & son were invited in as stage-hands. This,

Mrs Garvey realized. In her letter of refusal to the Prime Minister - (2/12/68) she writes:

"Since your invitation is just to fill an empty chair in the audience, it can well be filled by any one not personally involved."

and again:

"Neither Marcus nor myself were consulted or asked to participate in any arrangements in this matter in which Marcus Garvey's name is used."

We realize that Marcus' name is being for criminal ends and nothing short of that. However Marcus Garvey's writings and activities, the stand taken by his family, reflect a strong body of opinion in and outside this country which does not take political crime for granted.

After reading Garvey's brief article "The Press & Capitalism" it will not come as a surprise that so much headline attention was paid to a ceremony intent on mass-deception.

Mrs Garvey refused to attend.

For a country with a violent past it was a politically wise gesture to have recognised Marcus Garvey as a National Hero. This is so because we are the Blacks for whom pretense was made towards nationhood & independence. What they make an idol of must



turn on them for Garvey's work is very recent and its impact revolutionary.

### ABENG NEWSPAPER

On the 30th of January 1969 a new weekly appears. The ABENG is a Maroon horn used to communicate in a special way by Maroons and some Jamaicans. According to Dallas in his 1803 - History of the Maroons "it is very remarkable that the Maroons had a particular call upon the horn for each individual, by which he was summoned from a distance, as easily as he would have been spoken to by name, had he been near. It appears wonderful at first that a single horn should be able to express such a number of names... Allowing that the horn admits a less variation of tones than the chimes of twelve bells, it has a greater advantage in one respect - for conveying of particular ideas from being capable of varying the duration of sound... as to transmit a great variety of ideas." This conveys the ABENG perspective of participation.

The Abeng will appear for some time as a weekly growing towards the goal in three years of a National Daily. Remember "We want our people to think for themselves. Just here we must begin MARCUS GARVEY (first edition of "The Blackman", Easter 1929.

### WHY THE NAME BONGO-MAN?

Call a man a Bongo first time and say you insultin' him. A Bongo man you were black, ugly, a country bumpkin, & an African.

1912: black poet Claude McKay wrote in his 'Constab' Ballads' after joining the police force...

"Right tu'n you damn bungo br... The man on drill-practice was being abused. Bungo was a cuss-word in a slander sense of cussing off. People used what the black man was: BLACK and where he came from: Africa, to his humanity. Call him what him was, but mek him think you cussing correct.

1942: Louise Bennett wrote:

"Me always get cross w'en uncle cuss me bungo fool..."

We heard bongo-bitch or dry-head bitch and several other derogatory terms used to subordinate black people. Bungo is an African tribal name from the region of the Nile-Congo-Niger watershed.

Greet a man now an' call him Bongo-Bongo-Haile-it means I can't be forced into accepting Bongo as a name but Bongo as a loved one who walks highly.

Bongo-man has to be a journal for African Youth because of this evaluation.



# WHY BLACK POWER IN THE WEST INDIES

Walter Rodney

About a fortnight ago, I had the opportunity of speaking on Black Power to an audience on this campus. At that time, the consciousness among students as far as the racial question was concerned had been heightened by several incidents on the world scene—notably, the hangings in Rhodesia & the murder of Dr. Martin Luther King. Indeed it has been heightened to such an extent that some individuals have started to organize a Black Power Movement. My presence here attests to my full sympathy with their objectives. Their expressed aims are as follows:

- 1) To create an awareness of what it means to be black.
- 2) To mobilise and unify Black People to act in their own interest.
- 3) To reject white cultural imperialism.
- 4) To seek to ensure the rule of Blacks in a black society.

## BLACK POWER AND YOU

The topic on this occasion is no longer just "Black Power" but "Black Power and You." Black Power can be seen as a movement and an ideology springing from the reality of oppression of Black Peoples by whites within the imperialist world as a whole. Now we need to be specific in defining the West Indian scene and our own particular roles in the society. You and I have to decide whether we want to think black or to remain as a dirty version of white. (I shall indicate the full significance of this later).

Recently, there was a public statement in Scope (campus newspaper) where Black Power was referred to as "Black Supremacy". This may have been a genuine error or a deliberate falsification. Black Power is a call to black peoples to throw off white domination and resume the handling of their own destinies. It means that blacks would enjoy power commensurate with their numbers in the world and in particular localities. Whenever an oppressed black man shouts for equality he is called a racist. This was said of Marcus Garvey in his day. Imagine that! We are so inferior that if we demand equality of opportunity and power that is outrageously racist!

Black people who speak up for their rights must beware of this device of false accusations.

It is intended to place you on the defensive and if possible embarrass you into silence.



### BONGO-MAN

How can we be both oppressed and embarrassed? Is it that our major concern is not to hurt the feelings of the oppressor? Black People must now take the offensive-if it is anyone who should suffer embarrassment it is the whites. Did black people roast six million Jews? Who exterminated millions of indigenous inhabitants in the Americas and Australia? Who enslaved countless millions of Africans? The white capitalist cannibal has always fed on the world's black peoples. White capitalist imperialist society is profoundly and unmistakably racist.

The West Indies have always been a part of white capitalist society. We have been the most oppressed section because we were a slave society and the legacy of slavery still rests heavily upon the West Indian black man. I will briefly point to five highlights of our social development: 1) The development of racialism under slavery.

2) Emancipation.

3) Indian indentured labour.

4) The year 1865 in Jamaica.

5) The year 1938 in the West Indies.

### RACIALISM UNDER SLAVERY

Slavery. As C.L.R. James, Eric Williams and other W.I. scholars have pointed out, slavery in the West Indies started as an economic phenomenon rather than a racial one. But it rapidly became racist because all white labour was withdrawn from the fields, leaving black to be identified with slave labour and white to be linked with property and domination. Out of this situation where blacks had an inferior status in practice, there grew social and scientific theories relating to the supposed inherent inferiority of the black man, who was considered as having been created to bring water and hew wood for the white man. This theory then served to rationalize white exploitation of blacks all over Africa and Asia. The West Indies and the American South share the dubious distinction of being the breeding ground for world racialism. Naturally, our own society provided the highest expressions of racialism. Even the blacks became convinced of their own inferiority, though fortunately we are capable of the most intense expressions when we recognise that we have been duped by the white men. Black Power recognises both the reality of black oppression and self-negation as well as the potential for revolt.



BONGO-MAN

EMANCIPATION

BY the end of the 18th century, Britain had got most of what it wanted from black labour in the West Indies. Slavery and the slave trade had made Britain strong and now stood in the way of new developments, so it was time to abandon those systems. The Slave Trade and Slavery were thus ended; but Britain had to consider how to squeeze what little remained in the territories and how to maintain the local whites in power. They therefore decided to give the planters £20 million compensation and to guarantee their black labour supplies for the next six years through a system called apprenticeship. In that period, white society consolidated its position to ensure that slave relations should persist in our society. The Rastafari bretheren have always insisted that the black people were given £20,000,000 at emancipation. In reality, by any normal standard of justice, we black people should have got the £20 million compensation money. We were the ones who had been abused and wronged, hunted in Africa and brutalised on the plantations. In Europe, when serfdom was abolished, the serfs usually inherited the land as compensation and by right. In the West Indies, the exploiters were compensated because they could no longer exploit us in the same way as before. White property was of greater value than black humanity. It still is - white property is of greater value than black humanity in the British West Indies today, especially here in Jamaica.

INDIAN INDENTURED LABOUR

Britain and the white West Indians had to maintain the plantation system in order to keep white supreme. When Africans started leaving the plantations to set up as independent peasants they threatened the plantation structure and therefore Indians were imported under the indenture arrangements. That was possible because white power controlled most of the world and could move non-white peoples around as they wished. It was from British-controlled India that the indentured labour was obtained. It was the impact of British commercial, military and political policies that was destroying the life and culture of 19th century India and forcing people to flee to other parts of the world to earn bread. Look where Indians fled - to the West Indies! The West Indies is a place black people want to leave not to come to. One must therefore appreciate the pressure of white power on India which gave rise to migration to the West Indies. Indians were brought here solely in the interest of white society - at the expense of Africans already in the



## BONGO-MAN

West Indies and often against their own best interests, for Indians perceived indentured labour to be a form of slavery and it was eventually terminated through the pressure of Indian opinion in the homeland. The West Indies has made a unique contribution to the history of suffering in the world, and Indians have provided part of that contribution since indentures were first introduced. This is another aspect of the historical situation which is still with us.

1865

In that year Britain found a way of perpetuating White Power in the West Indies after ruthlessly crushing the revolt of our black brothers led by Paul Bogle. The British Government took away the Constitution of Jamaica and placed the island under the complete control of the Colonial Office, a manoeuvre that was racially motivated. The Jamaican legislature was then largely in the hands of the local whites with a mulatto minority, but if the gradual changes continued the mulattoes would have taken control—and the blacks were next in line. Consequently the British Government put a stop to the process of the gradual takeover of political power by blacks. When we look at the British Empire in the 19th century, we see a clear difference between white colonies and black colonies. In the white colonies like Canada and Australia the British were giving white people their freedom and self-rule. In the black colonies of the West Indies, Africa and Asia the British were busy taking away the political freedom of the inhabitants. Actually, at the constitutional level, Britain had already displayed its racialism in the West Indies in the early 19th century when it refused to give mulattoes the power of Government in Trinidad, although they were the majority of free citizens. In 1865 in Jamaica it was not the first time on which Britain made it clear that its white "kith and kin" would be supported to hold dominion over blacks.

1938

Slavery ended in various islands of the West Indies between 1834 and 1838. Exactly one hundred years later (between 1834-1938) the black people in the West Indies revolted against the hypocritical freedom of the society. The British were very surprised—they had long forgotten all about the blacks in the British West Indies and they sent a Royal Commission to find out what it was all about. The report of the commission



BONGO-MAN

-ions was so shocking that the British government did not release it until after the war, because they wanted black colonials to fight the white man's battles. By the time the war ended it was clear in the West Indies and throughout Asia, and Africa that some confessions would have to be made to black peoples. In general, the problem as seen by white imperialists was to give enough power to certain groups in colonial society to keep the whole society from exploding and to maintain the essentials of the imperialist structure. In the British West Indies, they had to take into account the question of military strategy, because we lie under the belly of the world's imperialist giant, the U.S.A. Besides, there was the new and vital mineral, bauxite, which had to be protected. The British solution was to pull out wherever possible and leave the imperial government in the hands of the U.S.A., while the local government was given to a white, brown and black petty-bourgeoisie who were culturally the creations of white capitalist society and who therefore support the white imperialist system because they gain personally and because they have been brainwashed into aiding the oppression of black people.

WHY BLACK POWER IN THE WEST INDIES?

Black Power in the West Indies means three closely related things;

- 1) The break with imperialism which is historically white racist,
- 2) The assumption of power by the black masses in the islands,
- 3) The cultural reconstruction of the society in the image of the blacks.

I shall anticipate certain questions on who are the blacks in the West Indies since they are in fact questions which have been posed to me elsewhere. I maintain that it is the white world which has defined who are blacks - if you are not white then you are black. However, it is obvious that the West Indian situation is complicated by factors such as the variety of racial types and racial mixtures and by the process of class formation. We have therefore to note not simply what the white world says but also how individuals perceive each other. Nevertheless, we can talk of the mass of the West Indian population as being black - either African or Indian. There seems to have been some doubts on the last point, and some fear that Black Power is aimed against the Indian. This would be a flagrant denial of both the historical experience of the West Indies and the reality of the contemporary scene.

When the Indian was brought to the West Indies, he met the same



BONGO-MAN

racial contempt which whites applied to Africans. The Indian too was reduced to a single stereotype-the coolie or labourer. He too was a hewer of wood and a bringer of water. I spoke earlier of the revolt of the blacks in the West Indies in 1938. That revolt involved Africans in Jamaica, Africans and Indians in Trinidad and Guyana. The uprisings in Guyana were actually led by Indian sugar workers. Today, some Indians (like some Africans) have joined the white power structure in terms of economic activity and culture; but the underlying reality is that power resides among Africans and Indians in the West Indies and that power is denied them. Black Power in the West Indies therefore refers primarily to people who are recognisably African or Indian.

CHINESE

The Chinese, on the other hand, are a former labouring group who have now become bastions of white West Indian Social structure. The Chinese of the People's Republic of China have long broken with and are fighting against white imperialism, but our Chinese have nothing to do with that movement. They are to be identified with Chiang-Kai-Shek and not Chairman Mao Tse-Tung. They are to be put in the same bracket as the Lackeys of capitalism and imperialism who are to be found in Hong Kong and Taiwan. Whatever the circumstances in which the Chinese came to the West Indies, they soon became (as a group) members of the exploiting class. They will have either to relinquish or be deprived of that function before they can be re-integrated into a West Indian society where the black man walks in dignity.

BROWN-MEN

The same applies to the mulattoes, another group about whom I have questioned. The West Indian brown man is characterised by ambiguity and ambivalence. He has in the past identified with the black masses and it suited his interests, and at the present time some browns are in the forefront of the movement towards black consciousness; but the vast majority have fallen to the bribes of white imperialism, often outdoing the whites in their hatred and oppression of blacks. Garvey wrote of the Jamaican mulattoes- "I was openly hated and persecuted by some of these coloured men of the island who did not want to be classified as Negroes but as whites." Naturally, conscious West Indians like Garvey have in turn expressed their dislike for the

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but there is nothing in the West Indian experience which suggests that browns are unacceptable when they choose to identify with blacks. The post-1938 developments in fact showed exactly the opposite. It seems to me, therefore, that it is not for the Black Power Movement to determine the position of the browns, reds and so-called West Indian whites- the movement can only keep the door open and leave it to those groups to make their choice.

### BLACK POWER IS ANTI-RACIALISM

Black Power is not racially intolerant. It is the hope of the black man that he should have power over his own destinies. This not incompatible with a multi-racial society where each individual counts equally. Because the moment that power is equitably distributed among several ethnic groups then the very relevance of making the distinction between groups will be lost. What we must object to is the current image of a multi-racial society living in harmony- that is a myth designed to justify the exploitation suffered by the blackest of our population, at the hands of lighter-skinned groups. Let us look at the figures for the racial composition of the Jamaican population.

Of every 100 Jamaicans, 76.8 per cent are visibly African.

0.8 " " European.

1.1 per cent are Indian.

0.6 per cent are Chinese.

0.1 per cent are Syrian.

14.6 per cent are Afro-European

5.4 per cent represent other mixtures.

91.0 per cent have African blood.

This is a black society where Africans preponderate. Apart from the mulatto mixture all other groups are numerically insignificant and yet the society seeks to give them equal weight and indeed more weight than the Africans. If we want to Britain we could easily find non-white groups in the above proportions- Africans and West Indians, Indians and Pakistanis, Turks, Arabs and other Easterners- but Britain is not called a multi-racial society. When we go to Britain we don't expect to take over all of the British real estate business, all their cinemas and most of their commerce- as the European, Chinese and Syrian have done here. All we ask for there is some work and shelter, and we can't even get that. Black Power must proclaim that Jamaica is a black



BONGO-MAN

society-we should fly Garvey's Black Star banner and we will treat other groups in the society on that understanding-they can have the basic right of all individuals but no privilege to exploit Africans as has been the pattern during slavery and ever since.

NO TO WHITE POWER

The present government knows that Jamaica is a black man's country. That is why Garvey has been made a national hero, for they are trying to deceive black people into thinking that the government is with them. The government of Jamaica recognises black power-it is afraid of the potential wrath of Jamaica's black and largely African population. That same fear which forced them to declare mourning when black men are murdered in Rhodesia, and when Martin Luther King was murdered in the U.S.A. But the black people don't need to be told that Garvey is a national hero-they know that. Nor do they need to be told to mourn when blacks are murdered by White Power, because they mourn everyday right here in Jamaica where white power keeps them ignorant, unemployed, ill-clothed and ill-fed. They will stop mourning when things change that means a revolution, for the first essential is to break the chains which bind us to white imperialists, and that is a very revolutionary step. Cuba is the only country in the West Indies and in this hemisphere which has broken with white power. That is why Stokely Carmichael can visit Cuba but he can't visit Trinidad or Jamaica. That is why Stokely can call Fidel "one of the blackest men in the Americas" and that is why our leaders in contrast qualify as "white."

Here I'm not just playing with words-I'm extending the definition of Black Power by indicating the nature of its opposite, "White Power" and I'm providing a practical illustration of what Black Power means in one particular West Indian community where it has already occurred. White Power is the power of whites over blacks without any participation of the blacks. White Power rules the imperialist world as a whole. In Cuba the blacks and mulattoes numbered 1,585,073 out of a population of 5,829,029 in 1953-i.e. about one quarter of the population. Like Jamaican black people today, they were the poorest and most depressed people on the island. Lighter-skinned Cubans held local power, while real power was in the hands of the U.S. imperialists. Black Cubans alongside white Cuban workers and peasants because they were all oppressed. Major Juan Almeida, one of the outstanding leaders of Cuba

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today, was one of the original guerrillas in the Sierra Maestra, and he is black. Black Cubans today enjoy political, economic and social rights and opportunities of exactly the same kind as white Cubans. They too bear arms in the Cuban Militia as an expression of their basic rights. In other words, White Power in Cuba is ended. The majority of the white population naturally predominates numerically in most spheres of activity but they do not hold dominion over blacks without regard to the latter's interests. The blacks have achieved power commensurate with their own numbers by their heroic self-efforts during the days of slavery, in fighting against the Spanish and in fighting against imperialism. Having achieved their rights they can in fact afford to forget the category 'black' and think simply as Cuban citizens, as Socialist equals and as men. In Jamaica, where blacks are far greater in numbers and have no whites alongside them as oppressed workers and peasants, it will be the black people who alone can bear the brunt of revolutionary fighting.

Trotsky once wrote that Revolution is the carnival of the masses. When we have that carnival in the West Indies, are people like us here at the University going to join the bacchanal? Let us have a look at our present position. Most of us who have studied at the UWI are discernibly black, and yet we are undeniably part of the white imperialist system. A few are actively pro-imperialist. They have no confidence in anything that is not white—they talk nonsense about black people being lazy—the same nonsense which was said about the Jamaican black man after emancipation, although he went to Panama and performed the giant task of building the Panama Canal—the same nonsense which is said about W. I. unemployed today, and yet they proceed to England to run the whole transport system. Most of us do not go to quite the same extremes in denigrating ourselves and our black brothers, but we say nothing against the system, and that means that we are acquiescing in the exploitation of our bretheren. One of the ways that the situation has persisted especially in recent times is that it has given a few individuals like you and I a vision of personal progress measured in terms of a front lawn and the latest model of a huge American car. This has recruited us into their ranks and deprived the black masses of articulate leadership. That is why at the outset I stressed that our choice was to remain as part of the white system or to break with it. There is no



BONGO-MAN  
alternative.

Black Power in the West Indies must aim at transforming the black intelligentsia into the servants of the black masses. Black Power within the University and without must aim at overcoming white cultural imperialism. Whites have dominated us both physically and mentally. The fact is brought out in virtually any serious sociological study of the region-the brainwashing process has been so stupendous that it has convinced so many black men of their inferiority. I will simply draw a few illustrations to remind you of this fact which blacks like us at Mona prefer to forget.

The adult black in our West Indian society is fully conditioned to thinking white, because that is the training we are given from childhood. The little black girl plays with a white doll, identifying with it as she combs its flaxen hair. Asked to sketch the figure of a man or a woman, the black schoolboy instinctively produces a white man or a white woman. This is not surprising, since until recently the illustrations in our text books were all figures of Europeans. The few changes which have taken place have barely scratched the surface of the problem. West Indians of every colour still aspire to European standards of dress and beauty. The language which is used by black people in describing ourselves shows how we despise our African appearance. "Good hair" means European hair, "good nose" means a straight nose, "good complexion" means a light complexion. Everybody recognises how incongruous and ridiculous such terms are, but we continue to use them and to express our support for the assumption that white Europeans have the monopoly of beauty, and that black is the incarnation of ugliness. That is why Black Power advocates find it necessary to assent that Black is Beautiful.

CHRISTIAN RELIGION

The most profound revelation of the sickness of our society on the question of race is our respect for all the white symbols of the Christian religion. God the Father is white, God the Son is white, and presumably God the Holy Ghost is white also. The disciples and saints are white, all the Cherubim, Seraphim and angels are white-except Lucifer of course, who was black, being the embodiment of evil. When one calls black people to reject these things, this is not an attack on the teachings of Christ or the ideals of Christianity. What we have to ask is "Why should Christianity come to us all wrapped up in white?"



BONGO-MAN

The white race constitute about 20 per cent of the world's population, and yet non-white peoples are supposed to accept that all who inhabit the heavens are white. There are 650 million Chinese, so why shouldn't God and most of the angels be Chinese? The truth is that there is absolutely no reason why different racial groups should not provide themselves with their own religious symbols. A picture of Christ could be red, white or black, depending upon the people who are involved. When Africans adopt the European concept that purity and goodness must be painted white and all that is evil and damned is to be painted black then we are flagrantly self-insulting.

ROAD TO BLACK POWER

Through the manipulation of this media of education and communication, white people have produced black people who administer the system and perpetuate the white values-"white hearted black men", as they are called by conscious elements. This is as true of the Indians as it is true of the Africans in our West Indian society. Indeed, the basic explanation of the tragedy to Africa/Indian confrontation in Guyana and Trinidad is the fact that both groups are held captive by the European ways of seeing things. When an African abuses an Indian he repeats all that the white men said about Indian indentured "coolies"; and in turn the Indian has borrowed from the whites the stereotype of the "lazy nigger" to apply to the African beside him. It is as though no black man can see another black man except by looking through a white person. It is time we started seeing through our own eyes. The road to Black Power here in the West Indies and everywhere else must begin with a revaluation of ourselves as blacks and with a redefinition of the world from our standpoint.

AIBENG IS HERE



BONGO-MAN

MESSAGE TO AFRO-JAMAICA ASSOCIATIONS

Walter Rodney.

ON UNITY

Owing to the action of the Jamaican Government, I am unable to accept your invitation to address this annual conference of Afro-Jamaican Associations. However, it is my hope that you will accept a brief written statement as a symbol of black solidarity and as a small contribution to your deliberations.

Africa is the home of mankind in general and of the black man in particular. We the black Africans have been scattered throughout the West as a consequence of the capitalist system of slavery organized by white men. Even in our homeland, Africa, white men seized power through force of arms and created colonies of exploitation, which served as barriers to our unity and freedom. That symbol of white capitalist domination which started with slavery and continued under colonialism and imperialism is still on our backs. It has divided us and regards us as racial inferiors.

In South Africa, the black man is called a "Kaffir" and is treated like an animal under Apartheid; in the United States he is supposed to be an "American Negro", but has no rights as an American, and in this island he is known as a Jamaican, although the black man does not own the land which is named 'Jamaica'. So long as we fail to recognise our identity as Africans

and so long as we remain divided for so long will we be downpressed to use an idiom of the black oppressors in Jamaica. But, by the same reasoning, when we move towards consciousness and a new unity, we are on the road towards freedom.

GARVEY & BLACK POWER

White oppressors shake when Ethiopians stretch forth their hands - even to God - but just to each other. This was proven more than 40 years ago by that great African person, Marcus Garvey. He demonstrated the potential of Black Power, based on the unity of Africans at home and abroad. He understood that such unity would have cultural, political and economic aspects, and that we need to establish freedom to return to Africa for those who are so minded.

JAMAICAN GOVERNMENT: ANTI-GARVEYITE

Today, the government of Jamaica is profoundly anti-Garveyite. It dismisses all talk about the black as 'racist', it turns down the request of the Afro-Jamaican Council to introduce African history and African language in the schools and bans literature written by black brothers in the USA, and it tries desperately to draw a line between black Jamaicans and black people everywhere else, by describing



latter as 'aliens' and 'foreigners'. This last point requires your serious consideration, since it is possible by the false nationalism which the government and the Gleaner tried to use against me and against the U.W.I. as a whole. That false nationalism is being used to divide black Africans who served their period of slavery in different islands and territories, and both white and black oppressors also hope that this trick will keep the black people of Jamaica from acting together in their own interest.

Given the hostility which the regime in Jamaica has shown towards the black man's cause, the discussion by this Conference on "The Cultural and Economic Re-awakening" of Afro-Jamaicans is itself a challenge to governmental oppression, and this must be clearly understood. For instance, it is essential that delegates here should confront the ban on black people's literature from the USA. If that ban is not removed forthwith, then no black citizen should feel obliged to obey such a dictatorial and vicious law. This was my public stand in Jamaica and those who are sceptical of such a course of action should be reminded of the way Garvey's publications were carried into all the colonial territories where they were banned, including the very heart

of Africa.

It is on the very question of Garvey that most work needs to be done in the educational and cultural spheres. Garvey lives on in the hearts of a certain generation of black people in Jamaica. For that reason, the government was forced to recognise him as a national hero. They brought Garvey's bones but not his philosophy. They named a street after him and built a statue in his likeness, but on October 16th they tear-gassed black people who were gathered around the statues of Paul Bogle and Marcus Garvey-how symbolic! The task of bringing Garvey to the black youth must be shouldered by all organizations which are interested in the cultural re-awakening of the Afro-Jamaicans. African youth in Jamaica today are waging a struggle in their own way against ignorance, unemployment and starvation. They will immediately understand how Garvey's thoughts and deeds relate to their own way of life, and they themselves will create new methods of dealing with the oppressors.

#### AMY JACQUES GARVEY

Besides, Jamaicans are extremely fortunate in still having amongst themselves Mrs Amy Jacques Garvey, wife of Marcus Garvey, and a black revolutionary fighter in her own right. She must be protected, and the best use made of her services. It will be



BONGO-MAN

interesting to see whether the government will be brazen enough to move openly against the Garvey family and the Garveyite philosophy when it is fully propogated. Then, even the blind will see.

REV CLAUDIUS HENRY R.B.

I must ask you to turn your attention also to another unique individual who champions the cause of the Black Man in Jamaica, and he is the Rev Claudius Henry R.B. The government has charged me with the crime of consorting with Rev Henry, which means that he is a criminal. It is unnecessary here to refute those wild charges. One must understand that such accusations come from a set of frightened men alarmed by a massive demonstration of black solidarity.

Rev Henry's name is mentioned here specifically in connection with the question of economic re-awakening, for although his organization is basically religious, it carries out a policy of economic co-operation and self-reliance among black people.

At Kemp's Hill, in the middle of a most depressed area which is the Prime Minister's constituency, Rev Henry has gathered together a number of black brothers and sisters, and they have turned themselves in to an independent black economic

community. In less than a year they built themselves an attractive church and several dwelling houses—all of concrete, for they make the concrete blocks. They have proper plumbing and electricity, and in case the local supplies are inadequate they have their own water tanks and electric generator. They operated a fish shop from the outset, and later they set up a bakery. In spite of massive persecution by the government, the police and the army, the Henry community has extended to several other parts of the island, and at Cross they are doing the same thing all over again except that this time they are achieving it all in a matter of weeks instead of months.

NEW WAYS

The importance of the above example of economic re-awakening is that it proves the great capacity of our people once they are resolved to set out for themselves. The Rev Henry and his supporters are building a new life which is a direct challenge to the capitalist method where a set of parasites feed on the majority of people. The mass of black people in the West and in Africa have never fully accepted the life which the white people feel we should live. The period of the 1930s was full of successful escapes from the building of maroon settlements which were economic communities on the side of the slave economy, and which



actually threatened the existence of the slave economy.

After the emancipation in the 1830's the black people again rejected the society the economy, which was run from outside by white imperialists assisted by the local white planters. Africans here in the West Indies rejected the exploitation of the plantation by setting themselves up as independent peasants, giving a most remarkable display of courage and resourcefulness. At that time we came very close indeed to ending our subjugation to white landowners and the white world in general.

Today, we must find new ways of trying to regain control over our own destinies. The black self-reliant co-operative community of the Henry type is certainly a guide to what can be achieved. But it is not for any one individual to say exactly what forms would be taken by a new economic awakening. It is left to the Afro-Jamaican organizations and all other interested persons to work within the various sections of our community—the fishermen, the unemployed, the banana farmer, the printers, small businessmen, and so on. Everybody knows that the promises made in 1938 have come to nothing. But Freedom is a long road, and it is time to resume the journey. We are a fighting people, a resourceful people. We shall overcome.

ONE LOVE.

## THE BOOKS TO READ!!

### AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL

IN THE CASTLE OF MY SKIN  
GEORGE LAMMING  
PUBLISHED BY MICHAEL JOSEPH. 1953.

THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF MALCOLM X  
PUBLISHED BY GROVE PRESS 1966.

SOUL ON ICE: ELRIDGE CLEAVER.  
RAMPARTS: 1968.

### MARCUS GARVEY

PHILOSOPHY & OPINIONS (FRANK CASS  
1967)

GARVEY & GARVEYISM: A. J. GARVEY  
BLACK POWER IN AMERICA: A. J. GARVEY  
(both independently published).

Copies of these are on sale: Mrs  
Amy Jacques Garvey, 12 Mona Rd. Kgn6.  
LOOK OUT FOR MORE GARVEY WRITINGS!

### POETRY:

E. BRAITHWAITE

RIGHTS OF PASSAGE

MASKS

### FRANTZ FANON

WRETCHED OF THE EARTH  
BLACK SKIN WHITE MASKS  
TOWARDS THE AFRICAN REVOLUTION  
A DYING COLONIALISM.

### C. L. R. JAMES

BLACK JACOBINS (A VINTAGE BOOK 1963)  
PARTY POLITICS IN THE WEST INDIES.  
(VENDIC ENTERPRISES LTD.)



BONGO-MAN

## GUYANA STEPS BACK

C.Y. THOMAS

GUYANA STEPS BACKWARD

Guyana's election brought about its predicted results. The most obvious ones centred around the 're-election' of Mr Burnham and his party to office. Nevertheless some people were left aghast, not by the result, but the cynical way in which it was achieved. As MokoJumbie (Trinidad fortnightly review) No. 5 pointed out "it is a long time since the electoral process in any country has been flaunted and abused with such panache." That such serious commentators have reacted with some incredulity is testimony of how reliant we all really are on the assumption that the oft-proclaimed Western idealism and humanism of our political leadership are relevant to the formation of their policies.

IMPERIALIST GRASP

The less obvious results of the elections lie in the deepening entanglement of Guyana in the imperialism of our hemisphere. The recent revolt of Amerindians under the leadership of the big cattle-ranchers, and with the support of the present reactionary Venezuelan regime is an ironic reflection of this entanglement. What sort of political

leadership has been offered through the years when the most exploited group in Guyanese history the Amerindians find that the natural allies in a fight to regain their homeland are the classes who exploit them the most? To evaluate the deeper significance of the elections one must have the perspective of the recent political development of Guyana.

NATIONAL MOVEMENT (1953)

Despite the many myths which have grown up around it Monday 27th April 1953 was the high point of modern Guyanese political life. On that day the country won its only decisive battle against colonialism for the past three decades. Although the victory was achieved narrowly (in that only 51 per cent of the electorate supported the nationalist movement as embodied in the People's Political Party) its psychological and political value was tremendous. Its political value could be gauged from the fact that this narrow majority vote gave the PPP control over 75% of the parliamentary seats. This control was reinforced by the fact of great psychological importance: the Party had won the first



motives which inspired its formation to understand the pattern of drift in Guyanese political life.

In so far as the political structures of the country measure their chances of success in communal numbers they like the old (UK) and new (USA) imperial influences depend for their survival on the worsening of these divisions within Guyanese society.

The political ineptness of the local leadership and the cynical imperial power play which gave rise to proportional representation has set the framework for this exploitation. To maintain itself in power the Burnham government needs and must have black African votes. The internal demographic position in Guyana, although not accurately known, increasingly favours the Indians.

The Government had three strategies for this situation. One which related to the last election was to expand the electoral roll by enfranchising Guyanese overseas. Thus we have a position where at the last election about 20% of the electorate (66,000 persons) were registered as overseas-electors out of a total electorate of 366,000 persons. Compared with the 1964 electorate of 247,000 persons the increase has been about 50%.

The medium to long term policy is to encourage a flow of immigration into Guyana from the West Indies. Whilst there can be no doubt of Guyana's need for more people and its histor-

-ical duty to make its land space and resources available to West Indians, it is surely nothing more than a dangerous form of political vote-gathering to encourage large scale immigration in the absence of a clearly coordinated regional development plan and in the presence of a current unemployment rate of 20%.

Immigration to Guyana should be the basis of fostering unity among all Caribbean peoples and not to service the political needs of present moribund political structures. In view of all this one can understand the tremendous growth of political cynicism among Guyanese which is now so often being discussed. What are the purposes of elections when, because of current divisions, the results depend on which electoral practice is invented and who has the power to introduce it?

What are the uses of the present political structures, when like the imperialists (and indeed for them), they serve to divide the country against itself and to ignore the common enemy? In such a situation one party is as bad, or as good, as another - depending on how cynical you are! The framework the present parties have established for Guyanese political life has lost all usefulness, except perhaps for the faint possibility that a coalition of the two major parties may stem the forces leading to national dis-integration along communal lines.



BONGO-MAN

If this occurs there is the prospect of some degree of national regeneration. In this sense therefore with an unbelievable degree of historical perversity the 1968 elections offered the present national leaders a chance to do this. Of course it was not accepted. However external occurrences are rapidly changing the situation. The combination of dependence of the early nationalist movement (pre-1953) on crude misapplication of metropolitan ideology, the imperialist counter-offensive during the past fifteen years and the growth of new alignments and structures in the international political system have left Guyana singularly exposed. The territorial conflict with Venezuela and Surinam is a clear indication of the alternatives the United States - the dominant arbiter of the situation, is offering the Guyanese people -s. The present deleterious system of politics with its destructive (national) dynamic must remain or the country will cease to exist as a geographical entity.

GUYANA/VENEZUELA

The Guyana/Venezuela dispute shows not only the trump cards held by the United States but the manner in which they may be played. Let us look briefly at the nature of the dispute. The dispute, originally one between Britain and Venezuela, over the boundaries of Britain's colonial poss-

session, British Guiana, was settled by the Paris Award of 1899. That award satisfied Venezuela. One of its government spokesmen at the time described it as "a great victory". Indeed, it was a great victory, thanks largely to the United States support for Venezuela's position. At the meetings of the Tribunal, Venezuela's case was argued by United States lawyers. The President of the United States Supreme Court was Venezuela's nominee to the Tribunal. In addition America's basic foreign policy as articulated by the so-called Monroe Doctrine, sought to promote American dominance in the Hemisphere, through in part, the elimination of European territorial holdings in the region. To all intents & purposes the matter was finally settled in 1899.

The most recent phase of the dispute could be said to have started during 1964 when three events converged. The first was that Dr Jagann held office. Second, within Venezuela, radical guerrilla activity had grown at a rapid pace. Finally, formal constitutional independence for Guyana at that time was not far off. It was then that the Venezuelans reactivated their claim. Dr Jagan's reaction was to argue that there was no issue to discuss. The matter had been settled. When Mr Burnham gained office after the pre-independence elections the official position of the Guyanese govern-

BONGO-M

ment chairman agreed to -en Guyana discuss ment was -ong oth Commissi to sugge -te by 1 The Comm been, fro disappoint of the 1 -a agree notable of Ankok Presiden bellicos announci territor 140 mile Guyana. A that Ven patrolli of the c legal hu was that claims waters u s coast l waters area betw Venezuela a claim f constitut The spuri the sinis



ment changed somewhat. Mr Burnham - agreed to a Tripartite meeting between Guyana-Venezuela and the U.K. to discuss the issue. In 1966, an agreement was reached in Geneva which among other things set up a Joint Commission to study the problems and to suggest a resolution of the dispute by 1970.

The Commission's progress to date has been, from the Venezuelan viewpoint disappointing. Violations by Venezuela of the letter and spirit of the Geneva agreement were frequent. The most notable being the Venezuelan seizure of Ankoko Island. On July 10th, 1968 President Leoni pushed Venezuelan bellicosity one step further through announcing a claim to sovereignty for territorial waters 3-12 miles off a 140 mile strip of the West Coast of Guyana. At the same time he announced that Venezuelan gunboats would be patrolling the waters. The legal basis of the claim is a classical piece of legal humbug. The argument put forward was that if Guyana's constitution claims sovereignty over territorial waters up to 3 miles off the country's coast and as Venezuela's territorial waters extend for 12 miles, then the area between 3 and 12 miles was Venezuelan since she had instituted a claim for it which the Guyanese constitution did not dispute.

The spurious nature of the claim and the sinister way way it is being -

pushed serve to show that the United States would not tolerate a government of the PPP even if they won the elections. Indeed the PPP cannot win in any real sense of the idea! It's survival as a government is contingent on the extent to which Burnham's party is prepared to share political office-whatever the polls might show. Offering a political party which controls the majority of the population such narrow choices creates a most dangerous situation. The danger increases to the extent that the other major party tries to take advantage of this. Of course Mr Burnham's PNC exploits this to the full. In so doing it does not act as an agency for national liberation. It fails to recognize that the real value of its present strategic advantages lies in its ability to promote the formation of a national front. In my view therefore the last elections were both irrelevant and dangerous. Such elections cannot solve the problems of the distribution of power or of national development. Indeed, through talk of "victory at the polls" they serve to create new ones.

At this juncture, the solution to Guyana's problems as indeed the whole Caribbean effectively lies in the changing balance of forces in the Third World and our hemisphere. Our future has been caught up in the struggle to liberate the Americas.



Jamaican capitalists are not either alone, or in concert with foreign - capitalists able to develop the soc- iety. They are increasingly bogged down in contradictions which result in increasing inequality of wealth and significant unemployment. Instead of creating a steady commitment to work and human improvement they - foster hatred, indiscipline and the retardation of human faculties-where they do develop human faculties their use is distorted or rendered ineff- -ective and unproductive. Their only justification for existence is their ability to increase the wealth of the people even while they enrich themselves-they seem only able to do the latter. Their only defense seems to be that things would beworse with- -out them-not that things would be better with them-they admit their own incapacity to create real dev- -elopment. This is hardly surprising. In character the Jamaican capitalist -s are petty bourgeoisie, & commer- -cial in orientation. In relation to foreign capital they are parasitic -they seek only to grow by the left overs of economic activity created by the presence of foreign capital. In social orientation they are back- -ward-utilizing a free enterprise ideology appropriate only to pre- capitalist Britain and methods of social organization which are just

as primitive, it is no wonder their economic rule has engendered so much resentment-the resentment is heavily personal because their rule has been heavily personalist. Our capitalists are what they are because of the way in which foreign economic control has left to them only peripheral, if high- -ly profitable areas of economic - activity. They find themselves in the position of highly successful parasi- -tes and there is no reason whatever to believe that they would perform otherwise. We must shatter the myth that these groups are indispensable to our livelihood, because it is clear in fact that they would only increase our backwardness and misery while effecting no change.

## SOCIAL BASES OF REACTION

What are the social bases which seem to be coalescing today and what are their likely political expressions? First of all we recognize that the nature of our economic activity has not resulted in any clear dominance of a social class. What we have in fact are stunted social formations- a commercial-small industrial group of Syrians, Jews and Jamaica white and brown families who constitute the most reactionary political force in the country, but who do not really exercise decisive economic power- and thus do not really constitute a progressive middle class. Second



a political class which basically must represent the interests of - foreign business and has no intent- -ion or possibility of doing other- wise. It is these two which must- unite in the execution of political repression. THE COMMERCIAL TYPES - THE SYRIANS & JAMAICA 'RED' MEN HAVE A HISTORY OF VIOLENCE AND DIS- REGARD FOR LAW WHICH PARALLEL THOSE OF THE 'REDNECKS' OF THE SOUTHERN U.S.A. ALL THOSE 'GUN-CLUB' & 'SKEE- T SHOOT' MEMBERS COMPRISE THE MOST BRUTAL AND DESPICABLE ELEMENT IN JAMAICAN SOCIETY AND THE MOST IMMED- -IATE DAILY REMINDER OF THE CHARAC- TER OF SLAVE SOCIETY.

The professions, the civil service, and other service occupations prov- -ide the social base of the domin- -ant groups of brown and black men. These are more ambivalent than the commercial group. Here an ideology of SERVICE, some commitment to the "small man" and a resentment of the domination of white people serves to give these groups some cohesion, but the lingering antagonisms of these groups to the white mercant- -ile groups must be overcome if along with the latter they are to present a very strong front. Initially there is the advantage that they have a deep antipathy towards the revoluti- -onary idea and reality of blackness.

In practice more black window dress- -ing in commercial firms, more inter- -marriages and social association should suffice to unite these groups. It will be hard for the colonial - elites and repugnant to the whites but they know that it is essential to their survival - Not for nothing does the national news media exhort the "brown" group to give up the 'namby pamby' and ambivalent attit- -ude towards government repression or warn the commercial classes of the immediate need for a rapid breakdown of old social barriers.

#### THE U.S. RESPONSE

A united elite creates a formidable front for reaction and repression. It is clear that the U.S.A. must base its hope for continued non-intermen- -tion on this, plus a serious upgrad- -ing of the security apparatus and the technical and military improve- ment of local repressive forces.

#### THE POLITICAL STRUGGLE

The forces arrayed against this small minority represent at present the youth of Kingston, the country towns and the unemployed of the towns - These are great in number, youth represent over 50% of our population, prospects for them are very dim indeed. These groups are characterised by a hostility for the society which is fed by a pers- -onal and increasingly an ideolog-



BONGO-MAN

-ical understanding of their degradation.

Violent political activity is very hard to avoid in such an atmosphere. Spontaneous violence is already on the increase and seems likely to get more widespread. Its real disadvantage is its short time span and its inability to build politically on each episode. It is therefore easier to contain and unlikely to result in any revolutionary situation.

Political organization is at present confined to these social forces & seems to be still at an experimental stage-theoretically & practically. Experience with revolutionary guerrilla groups is non-existent in our case and so the effects of this kind of disciplined extreme political action on the population can hardly be assessed at this stage although it is CLEAR THAT THE GOVERNMENT IS PREPARING FOR SUCH AN EVENTUALITY.

WE CANNOT AT THIS STAGE RULE OUT THE POSSIBILITY OF A MASS POLITICAL MOVEMENT OPERATING TO TAKE POWER CONSTITUTIONALLY-the conditions do not yet seem to rule this out; although our experience of the manipulation of electoral machinery or the suspension of constitutional guarantees must make us properly skeptical of the success of this approach even although conditions would seem to favour a rejection of the two politi-

-cal parties, who have obviously only a skeleton of support sustained by patronage, left, in favour of a radical movement committed to carry out a programme of radical change. Our attention should also be turned to other sectors of the population-the working classes of all ages & the artisan-working class as well as other discontented factions in Jamaica.

The theoretical and ideological framework of the struggle is still in an experimental stage. "Black Power" seizes on the reality of our oppression in a radical way-its potential can be gauged by the hysterical reaction of the middle classes to it. But in a sense we must remain open and flexible on this point-We grasp the oppression in a general way-and eventually we will grasp the theoretical and ideological framework which will shape our political movements & vice-versa.

Finally it is well to be prepared for a long hard struggle. We must allow the apocalyptic vision to dominate our thought.

BONGO MAN  
GROWS



## THE PRESS

&amp; CAPITALISM

Marcus Garvey

The ordinary reading public may not know that the press, as we know it, today, is not all that it appears to be. This is due to the fact that some of the most skilful and criminal minded exploiters have become identified with the institution, either through direct ownership or by some other means of dominant control. Most of these controllers are men who have monies invested in many industrial enterprises in one country or the other. In fact they are what the socialists call capitalists. These capitalists control the Press today only with the view of using its influence to protect their particular interest, and so most of the news that the people read on any particular matter affecting the public is generally coloured or fixed up to suit the particular views of those capitalists who are interested and who control the particular newspaper.

Black readers, therefore, should not swallow blindly what is published in white newspapers. The black man must learn to discriminate by properly analysing what he reads. That the press is corrupt goes without question. In this respect one refers particularly to the Daily Press - the institution that falls under the ownership of big capital. It takes hundreds and thousands of pounds and

millions of dollars to run a real up-to-date daily newspaper. It is evident therefore, that this capital must come from those who can find it and it follows that having found the capital they use the organ of their investments to enhance their own interest irrespective of what pretence they make on behalf of healthy public opinion.

Reprinted from Garvey's London based publication: The Black Man magazine (1935). Bongo-Man reprints in each issue a Garvey gem in anticipation of future volumes of Philosophy & Opinions whose source materials remain in Garvey's publications.

ON RASTA: MORTIMO TOGO DESTA PLANNO

Many people have made statements against the Rastafarian Movement which they know not of. Who is a Rastafarian? One who accepts that His Majesty Haile Selassie is the Messiah. We Rastafarians draw our theory from the King James version of the Bible. In Revelations chap. 5, John was caught up in a vision where a Book was seen enclosed with seven seals. "And no one in the heaven or on the earth or under the earth was able to open



BONGO-MAN

# JAH RASTAFARI

the book or look thereon. "And John wept because there was no one worthy to open the book, but an angel said unto him, "Weep not: behold, the Lion that is of the tribe of Judah, the Root of David hath overcome, to open the book and the seven seals thereof."

Haile Selassie is the Conquering Lion of the tribe of Judah and with this and other revelations in the Bible we base our theory of Emperor worship.

Our claim of repatriation and restoration is well accepted in Ethiopia - I'm a witness to that.

The Rastafarians have recognised themselves as a society and often show their approval and disapproval of public affairs. One Rasta even contested the independence elections.

According to the Human Rights Charter all are free to hold and express their opinions without interference. To many, the Rastafarians' opinions should not be heard.

We are of the opinion that we are Ethiopians, by virtue of our Royal Ethiopian blood, transcended and descended down through the lineage of our forefathers. We were taken to these shores as slaves. The U.N. Declaration of Human Rights says everyone has a right to a nationality and no one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his nationality nor denied the right to change his nationality.

Someone is violating the international laws, not the Rastas, not Ethiopia. He who knows not, and knows not that he knows not, needs teaching. Let's teach him. Many misunderstand the Rastafarians in this community, some even think we ostracize ourselves from the Jamaican society. No, the time has come when new things are happening. Our desires to be sent to Ethiopia are still in the balance. May I ask these questions: If Ethiopia is prepared to settle the Rastafarian movement, should they be sent to Ethiopia? What if the Rastafarians do not want to be integrated into a Jamaican nation?

Historical Letter : published in Public Opinion May 4, 1963. Time: after the Coral Gardens disturbances (Mortimo Planno : Rastafarian representative to Africa.

BECOME AN  
ABENG  
READER



# JAMAICA TODAY

Amy Jacques Garvey

under-developed and early develop-  
ing small countries one finds a  
city of analytic minds, and a space  
middle-class, snug, unconcerned -  
individualists, who disregard the -  
es and agonies of the poverty -  
icken masses, who have no mouth-  
ce to take their distressed views  
the public view.

Jamaica suffers in this manner,  
ardless of the facade of develop-  
s (for whom?) which is shown to  
rists, but behind these pretensions  
progress lie the cold hard dis-  
teful facts of the realities in  
lives of the people.

## NOT PREPARED FOR NATIONHOOD

ere is <sup>no</sup> national conscience. Indiv-  
uals grumble against wrongs done,  
no united protest of citizens -  
s into action to expose these  
doings and rectify them.

national consciousness stirs the  
rts of the people because they -  
e never prepared for nationhood,  
er told of the training necessary  
man the independent country. Nor  
the grave responsibilities con-  
equent on "going it alone" in -  
dependence.

he press" more or less represents  
e vested interests, whose purpose  
s to make money for shareholders.  
ere is dire need for organs of gen-  
eral opinions - newspapers & magazines

-whose pages will be open to persons  
of all walks of life and classes of  
the society to air their views, which  
is so relevant to the country's pro-  
-gress, and safety. An educational, -  
inspirational media of communication  
is vital to a young nation, so as to  
give leadership of thought and guid-  
-ance, and bring into the open the -  
causes of poverty, unemployment, unrest  
and frustration, especially among the  
Youth, and seek to remedy these defects.

## PERSONAL POWER OVER-RIDES NATIONAL

### INTERESTS

Political parties ape the attitudes  
and policies of metropolitan countr-  
-ies; hence the most important aspects  
of advancement is ignored, or neglect-  
-ed for personal political and finan-  
-cial power of politicians.

A facade of large scale developments  
whereby Big Business becomes bigger  
are used as show pieces for more and  
more soft loans. This is called PROGRESS.  
But the masses now see through this  
and feel it from their hovels and  
overcrowded shacks, as Tourism (on  
which millions of pounds are spent)  
does not trickle down to change their  
lives, but they are denied the use of  
the existing media of communication -  
newspapers, radio and T.V. - to air their  
grievances.

The housing schemes for middle-income  
persons, trap them financially for twe



BONGO-MAN

-nty years in some cases, by the bait of "easy payments" on an inflated - "prestige value" house, which takes a working life-time to pay it off, plus compound interest, and in some cases no reduceable clause is inserted in the mortgage. But the urgency of having a ready build house to move into precludes businesslike assessment of values, the hazards of steady payments due to illness, unemployment, the acts of man and sometimes even the acts of God.

ECONOMIC ELITE ARE MINORITIES

The local economic elite are Chinese who own and control the wholesale and retail grocery trade. They have also crashed the industrial field, the real estate industry and the Tourist Hotel trade. Syrians and Lebanese own and operate the wholesale and retail dry goods trade. The Jews, who true to their kind have always been the business people are the financial minds of the island. They are stabilised financially, especially in the real estate field, and safe essential industries. The black race (according to English & American standards who classify Indians, Pakistanis and West Indians as "Darkies") in Jamaica are 95% of the population. Yet their economic control and ownership rating is 1%

The irony of the imbalance is that the Chinese came to Jamaica originally as indentured labourers to work on the plantations. They brought nothing with them, except their will-

-ingness for hardwork and thrift. Their wealth has been made right here in Jamaica, and in the main from the poor black people who must buy groceries. The Syrians and Lebanese are born traders. They started out by carrying a few rolls of cloth in "oil-skins" (waterproof) on their shoulder, from house to house, selling to maids and gardeners. In a short time they were to hire a lad to carry their "pack". Later on they got a two-wheel buggy, horse-drawn; and so on and on they progressed until they could open stores in the lanes of Kingston, and today they control the trade.

Why haven't the black people-the labourers not advanced in like manner in business and industry? They had no inherited trading propensities. The slave masters forbade them talking in their African languages and dialects, lest they plot uprisings. Their human spirit was beaten into submission to the will and white power. They were made to feel and realize that they were the property of white men during slavery, and even after that they were debased and debarred from owning anything. In short they were regarded as sub-human and taught that even God-the Creator had made them to be "hewers of wood and drawers of water." Mental zombies-tools of white supremacy.

THE EX-SLAVE NEVER MENTALLY FREE

The emergence of the machine age made slavery uneconomical, thus freedom came but what kind of freedom? The freed



were thrown out of the barracks of the plantations, without homes, without sustenance - Broken in spirit, without hope, nothing to believe in, and no leadership. No one cared how many died from want and exposure as no one owned them.

They were offered employment on the plantations at a rate of pay that could not provide for their own shelter and food, also clothes. Many were suspicious that they would be entrapped into physical slavery again. The white plantation owners in pique sent to China and India and brought indentured labourers here. After the Chinese had served their indenture they started, on a small scale, to sell groceries. But they pooled their monies and helped to establish shops. This has been the key to their success - clannishness, unity in all things.

The Indians kept vegetable gardens and small stock, and have steadily advanced since then, though not as spectacularly as the Chinese. The latter have increased their numbers, who are all supposed to come from Hong Kong (Br. Commonwealth) and not from the mainland of China - Communist. The monied class are these minorities, whose interests coincide. So they form a bulwark against those who try to break into their preserves of privilege and affluence. This is the only country where the Jew and the Arab see eye to eye. The Chinese

and Indians get together commercially to maintain their exalted positions. The overwhelming majority of African descent perforce are the consumers, and contributors to the wealth of the minorities.

Betting Shops and Rum Bars Demoralize the Masses: Betting shops run by the minorities are means of raking in what is left in the pay envelopes of the masses. They are at every street corner, and spread all over the towns and villages.

The national lottery has augmented their build-up. As the Government only print the tickets and hand them over to the Big Operators. Those who have financial and economic power influence political power, this is a logical conclusion.

Political independence has not brought about any economic changes to lever up and better the condition of the black masses. In fact they are in a worst condition, as the prices of food and clothing necessities - keep rising. No ceiling is put on same by Government; hence continued strikes for higher wages, to meet the cost of living, which disrupts production, and creates discontented, frustrated workers. And what about those who don't belong to Unions? The National Debt is one hundred million pounds. The politicians responsible say this is a sign of progress. Whose progress?

Heaven help the already over-burdened taxpayers, who have to meet these commitments made in their names.



## BONGO-MAN

We pay as high an income tax as English people, but ours is not a welfare state; we pay and pay, but do not receive the benefits.

### MOST SCHOOL-BOYS WANT TO BE POLITICIANS. WHY?

The standard joke is that every ambitious school boy dreams of being a politician, with a Benz, a Cadillac, chauffeur, a prestige house, -richly furnished, travelling allowance, and entertainment allowance, plus a - salary in keeping with his exalted position. "Ambition should be made of sterner stuff," but it could not so easily acquire wealth and power.

The Jamaican workers in all categories have reached the low level of not wanting to give a days work for a days pay. They take no pride in turning out a good job well done. They are frustrated, demoralized, and adopt the attitude of "I could not care less what happens, let it happen" the sooner the better.."

### EDUCATED YOUTHS BUT NO JOBS

While the Government has built more primary schools and given free - places in secondary schools, the economic imbalance is not considered at all. Poor graduates cannot find enough gainful employment in the establishments of Chinese and Syrian -s. These minorities must look after their own first, this is only natural. What happens to the thousands of youngsters-girls and boys, who are

qualified and want work? Eventually they become frustrated, despondent, some desperate, others drift into - gangs, which sometimes lead to violence and theft. Who is to blame? The Youth of the land or the System? The heart of the matter is that Jamaicans at home are just beginning to accept their racial identity, hence the urgent need to see the necessity of common basic interest with their kith and kin in Africa, America, the Caribbean areas, in fact all over the world. To quote the hackneyed expression-UNITY IS STRENGTH.

Strange as it may seem, but in Jamaica today this is being made very difficult. The legal fruits of Human Rights Year have been the Detention Act, the Genocide Act, the Commonwealth Citizens Act, and regulations to suppress free speech and criticism, and prevent public assemblies.

Also the banning of books by Malcolm X, Elijah Mohammed and Stokely Carmichael, exponents of black militant confrontation to white power and injustices in the United States of America.

### SIX MILLION JEWS & SIXTY MILLION AFRICANS EXTERMINATED.

History records that six million Jews were exterminated by the Nazis of Germany under the Hitler regime during the last world war, but no record has been kept of the nearly one hundred million Africans who



## BONGO-MAN

were killed by the greatest mass genocidal acts, not adequately recorded for fear of future reprisals. Ironically, Jamaica has a Genocide Act, the intent of this law is to suppress free expression in terms of race. But the tug at the hearts of people who have a common heritage of suffering is greater than the laws of men.

The banning of Dr Walter Rodney from re-entering Jamaica after his attendance at a Black Writers' Conference in Montreal early October exposed the fear and intentions of those in power-economically and politically. It Tifted the crust off a pie that was seething with the poverty, misery and frustrations of the black masses. Why do I say black? Because they are not Chinese, Indians, Syrians nor Jews. The latter have moved up, way up into the echelons of wealth and power.

The masses are the foundation of any nation. Their skills, abilities, good-will and energies must be harnessed to build the nation, and this can best be achieved by inculcating in them pride in race, self-respect, and the courage and self-discipline necessary to achieve the status of people of worth and value.

...../.....

# NEWS

## READ

## ABENG

## PASS ON BONGO MAN



BONGO-MAN

# BLACK NIGHT

T. Callendar.

"If a man's garments have not seen the last of lice, his fingernails cannot have flicked off the last of blood."

African proverb

"Besides their (the Negroes) occasional amusements of poisoning, stabbing, thieving, etc., a plan has just been discovered in the adjoining parish of St. Elizabeth for giving themselves a grand fete by murdering all the whites in the island..."

-point of view of Matthew Lewis, English Estate Gentleman "West India Journal" March 16, 1816 .

1816

Black Night. Somewhere in St. Elizabeth, a group of slaves gather secretly to make their plans for freeing themselves from oppression.

They sing:

Oh me good friend, Mr Wilberforce, make we free!

God Almighty thank ye! God Almighty, thank ye!

God Almighty, make we free!

Buckra in this country no make we free:

What Negro for to do? What Negro for to do?

Take force by force! Take force by force!

(Chorus) To be sure! To be sure!

1967 Black Night; Blackout.

"Young men...angry and violent...standing at street corners..waiting to stick a knife into God's ribs..." I am afraid and saddened..I am seeing the thing happening right before my eyes...Rudies continue their culture of rebellion against everything that smells of the system..the trend of robbery, rape, murder and arson spreads like a disease in the city...we walk and we see so many people about, standing silent, most of them, in groups...angry people, angry atmosphere, idle people, people who have nothing to lose..So many who already have grasped so much are still selfish and grasping..those who want to hold something are those whose hands are empty of all hopes, except the hope that, once the chaos starts, they may be able to loot their way to financial relief..their people have done it before, and they still



have the same blood and the same treatment as they had centuries ago...  
and they still sing with the same voice.....

To the Night let us sing our praises.

Let us sing paeans, or write our epitaphs.

To the dark let us chant our black anger

At oppression, at greed, at our torture.

In the night let us say our prayers.

Let us give our thanks for the passing of the sun.

Let us sorrow for blindness, for cowards

Huddled in village houses.

By the night let us sit and wait.

Let us wait and plan in the darkness.

Let us rise, attack, in the shadows.

To the night, to the end, let us sing....

"If a man's garment's have not seen the last of lice, his  
fingernails cannot have flicked off the last of blood." (African  
proverb.)

...../.....

You are involved

Martin Carter

This I have learnt:

to-day a speck

to-morrow a hero

hero or monster

you are consumed:

Like a jig

shakes the loom

Like a web

is spun the pattern

all are involved!

all are consumed!



BONGO-MAN

# ONCE UPON AN ISLAND

Wayne Brown

Once upon an island, there lived a fat man, who was very powerful, and very rich. He ruled over a tiny kingdom called Lilliput, and all his subjects loved and feared him. It was said that he carried guns all over his person, and he had a magic telescope with which he could see into the minds and hearts of men.

The fat man had many subjects. Some of them were white, and some of them were black. The fat man had a special game, called chess, which he played with the help of his subjects. He would make a white knight eat a black queen. Then he made a black pawn eat the white knight. Sometimes he lost four black pawns to one white bishop. Then he would make the black queen eat the bishop. And so, alone in his splendid palace, surrounded by lovely green lawns and bounded by a shining metal hedge, the fat man spent many pleasurable hours playing chess with his subjects.

The fat man was happy.

Then, one day, he noticed something that worried him. Right in the middle of his kingdom, there was a field which didn't belong to him. On it was an institution of learning which had been set up by all the neighbouring kingdoms, including Lilliput, long before the fat man was born, and which had been named the University of the West.

The fat man didn't like the University of the West. But he was not unduly disturbed, and all went well for a while. But then there came a famine upon the land, and while the fat man was playing chess one day, a serf came to tell him that his subjects were not getting enough to eat.

The fat man frowned. "Who says so?" he raged.

The serf told him that the children at the University of the West had begun asking each other, and the people of the Kingdom, whether they weren't hungry: and nearly all had replied "yes."

The fat man could not believe that his own subjects, who so loved and feared him, would say such a thing. He decided that it must be the children from the other kingdoms who were stirring up discontent. So he expelled the children from all the neighbouring kingdoms, and the University of the West became the University of Lilliput.

Now, Lilliputians did not know very much of the world outside, but they all loved and were very proud of Lilliput. So they all rejoiced at the



BONGO-MAN

fat man's deed, and cheered him as he rode by their fields.

But then the fat man realised he had made a mistake. He realised that it was not the children from the other kingdoms who were causing the discontent, but the very children of his own Lilliput: and that many of the children of the other kingdoms had in fact been the only ones to answer "no" when asked if they were hungry. And the question was now being asked even more loudly.

The fat man was sorry he hadn't used his magic telescope before he'd acted. Now he trained it on the University of Lilliput, and saw there many Lilliputian children from the Social Sciences class busily plotting mischievous pranks against him. So the fat man stamped angrily down on the Social Sciences' huts, inadvertently stepping also on the huts of the Faculty of Arts - and the University of the West, which had become the University of Lilliput, became the Lilliput School of Science.

But the next day, the fat man rode by with his magic telescope and saw that even while the children were learning the skills of medicine and astronomy, they were somehow also acquiring the habit of thinking. And the fat man knew that one day they would begin thinking bad thoughts about him. So the fat man slammed down his fist, and the University of

the West which had become the University of Lilliput which had become the Lilliput School of Science became the Lilliputian Institute of Technology.

For a while all was well, and the fat man returned with a sigh of relief to his chess. But after a while, the children of the Lilliputian Institute of Technology, who had been very poor and neglected, began to clamour for the chance to show-off their newly-learned tricks, which would also make them rich. But the fat man was too involved in his game. Rather than get up from the chess table to give the children the chance to perform what they had learned, he slammed down his fist again, and the University of the West which had become the University of Lilliput which had become the Lilliput School of Science which had become the Lilliputian Institute of Technology became the First Lilliputian Community Centre. And the fat man made a speech about how much he was doing for his black serfs, and all his subjects, black and white, applauded him.

But as the famine spread over the land, more and more serfs began seeking refuge in the Community Centre, and hanging their dirty linen on its clean white walls.

When the fat man, riding past one day, saw what had been done, he scowled. "The first Lilliputian Community



Centre has become the First Lilliputian Community Slum!" he declared angrily. "What will the ambassadors from the other kingdoms think of us? And he called in his workers with their pickaxes and sledgehammers and the great white building toppled to the ground in ruins, killing all the poor serfs who had bedded down in them.

Then the fat man had a bright idea. He offered the now desolate field free of charge to a great Kingdom that lay nearby, and one of the subjects of that Kingdom accepted it with delight. And so the University of the West which had become the University of Lilliput which had become the Lilliput School of Science which had become the Lilliputian Institute of Technology which had become the First Lilliputian Community Centre which had become the First Lilliputian Community Slum became the site of the Foreign Lilliputian Hotel.

At its opening the fat man made a speech about boosting the economy of his kingdom, and all the ambassadors from the other kingdom, who were present, cheered him.

So once again the fat man was happy. But one day a group of bad Lilliputian serfs got a wicked idea; and they stole up onto the Foreign Lilliputian Hotel and burnt it to the ground. The fire spread far and wide, until all

the fields around, from the village of Mina on one side to the mountains on the other were burnt and black and barren.

The fat man was nervous. He killed many bad serfs as he could find, but some others got away, and the fat man was afraid they might burn down his own palace next. So he called a meeting of all his subjects, rich and black and white, onto the site that last held the Foreign Lilliputian Hotel. All his subjects were not there because many of them, including the children from the University of the West, the University of Lilliput, the Lilliput School of Science, the Lilliputian Institute of Technology, the First Lilliputian Community Centre, the First Lilliputian Community Slum and the Foreign Lilliputian Hotel, had been exiled or imprisoned or killed.

But there were still very many serfs around, enough to pack the barren ground, and they waited in breathless silence to hear what the fat man had to say.

The fat man smiled. Then, quick as a wink, he pulled out a Lilliputian from his right ear, and planted it in the middle of a scorched, desolate mound of earth, and declared: "Lilliput! Lilliput! Lilly-iput!" And the fat man rode off on his snow-white stallion, followed all the way to



## BONGO-MAN

palace by clapping and cheers.

Everything went well for a long time after that, and the fat man played many games of chess with himself. But one day a young, misguided serf entered the palace, cap in hand, and nervously suggested to the fat man that since nothing was being done with the burnt, barren field in the middle of Lilliput, they should build a University there.

The fat man frowned. He scowled. Then he knew what must be done. Drawing a tiny derringer from behind his knee-cap, he shot the young serf dead.

The echoes of the shot rang far and wide over the land, until every Lilliputian, black or white, rich or poor, got the message. The echoes lasted for a long time. At last they died down, and an eternal silence fell upon the land...

All that was long ago. Yesterday, the fat man rode by on his stallion and surveyed the scorched, brown, empty field. Then, in the middle of it, he saw a red rose: the only sign of life that had managed to push itself back up out of the ground which had been the University of the West which had become the University of Lilliput which had become the Lilliput School of Science which had become the Lilliputian Institute of Technology which had become the First Lilliputian Community Centre which had become the First Lilliputian Community Slum which had become the Foreign Lilliputian Hotel which had become a burnt, barren, useless field, which had been the scene of the fat man's greatest triumph.

The fat man smiled. He smiled till his cheeks began to shake. Then, dismounting, he plucked the red rose and put it in his lapel, and rode off on his snow-white stallion into the sunset, the people cheering and praising him all the way, as he went.....

...../.....

AIBENG  
WEEKLY

THE  
PAPER



BLACK POWER SONG: WRITTEN BY STENNETT KERR-COOMBS .  
 One of the chief organizers of the First Labour Movement in Jamaica-  
 "Jamaica Workers and Tradesmen Union" (1935-38). Has done much which is  
 of importance to black people in the island. Author of "I AM NO SLAVE  
 & OTHER POEMS" along with diverse publications.  
CAN BE SUNG TO: JOHN BROWN'S BODY

chorus: Blackman's Power Rising Higher!  
 Black! Black! Power! Rising Higher!  
 Break White men's Slave Chains  
 forever,  
 In 'Frica! 'Merica! Jamaica!

VERSE: Blackman held down now for many centuries,  
 Can't forget the White men's various cruelties,  
 Ma and Dad and Children living in one room-  
 "Tired to suffer" Spells their doom:

(Full Chorus):  
 Blackman's Power Rising Higher!  
 "Black! Black Power! Rising Higher!"  
 Break White men's Slave Chains forever-  
 In 'Frica! 'Merica! Jamaica!

Climb Black Power! Climb up higher!  
 Higher! Higher! Black! Black Power! Climb up higher!  
 Black! Black Power! Rising Higher!  
 In 'Frica 'Merica! Jamaica!  
 Lawd! Black Power! Gone up Higher!  
 Higher! Higher! Higher! Black Black Power Gone Up  
 Higher!  
 In 'Frica. 'Merica! Jamaica!

Stennett Kerr-Coombs says "Black Power" is the Thing,  
 Out of which all Substance, and all Human Spring!  
 Her Kerr-Coombs tells how "Black Power" burst Slave Chain!  
 Dumps the bandits down the drain:-

(Full Chorus)

Pond'ring o'er their one-and-thousand injuries!  
 We shall keep them in immortal memories:  
 Soon 'Black Power' covers Afric's Freedom Shore---  
 Freedom there forever more!

(Full Chorus)

BC





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MONTHLY PUBLICATION

WHY BLACK POWER IN THE WEST INDIES?

&

MESSAGE TO AFRO-JAMAICAN ASSOCIAT-  
-IONS. Walter Rodney

GUYANA STEPS BACK..C.Y. THOMAS

JAMAICA CAPITALISM...MARGARV...

THE PRESS & CAPITALISM..

Marcus Garvey

JAMAICA TODAY.....Amy Jacques Garvey

HISTORICAL LETTER

ON RASTA:MORTIMO PLANNO

BLACK NIGHT:TIMOTHY CALLENDAR

ONCE ON AN ISLAND:WAYNE BROWN

POEMS:HOW TO MAKE IT..D.Crosskill

YOU ARE INVOLVED..M.Carter

BLACK POWER SONG:S.Kerr-Coombs

# ABLENG ACTS

THIN THOUGH IT WEAR THE ROD OF TRUTH DOES NOT SNAP.Ethiopian proverb